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443 mid-day towards a long line of Min Chia
438 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
482 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
352 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
923 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

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883 462 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot [482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling [533 461] of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged 583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

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policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

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between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus the longest caravan route in constant use is the road connecting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years

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492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

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482 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on
492 the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to
493 ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

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482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says " Slippery place", and the one behind replies " Mend your pace " (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uanese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand
[733 miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire,
461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 Neither muleteers, porters, nor travellers have any real
491 protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 7. — MIN-CHIA PEASANTS

民家農夫

The Min-chia tribespeople are said to be the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom. They are now scattered all over Yün-nan, but their main stronghold is still Ta-li and the region of Yün-lung 雲龍. They carry their loads by means of a peculiar yoke which rests on their shoulders, a strap passes over the forehead. When stopping to rest they use a stick to prop the wooden yoke, and the left hand rests in the head strap. Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181–234) is said to have invented these yokes during his conquest of Yün-nan when he employed the Min-chia as carriers.

[p.28G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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PLATE 8. — MIN-CHIA WOMEN

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap. Firewood for the market of Chien-ch'uan, north of Ta-li.

[p. 28 H]

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

III. Economic Life.

1. Communications, Roads, and Bridges.

Among the Ch'iang there are no telephones, radios, or telegraph lines. There are no newspapers, and no books excepting those written by the Chinese and possessed by the few who can read them. Chinese-built roads connect the cities and towns in the valleys. Even here no wheeled vehicles can be used—only "hwagers" and sedan chairs, riding horses, and pack animals. On the Chinese roads some carry loads on the ends of bien dan or poles, but many carry their loads on their backs. Between the Ch'iang homes and villages the roads are unpaved footpaths, very narrow and often very steep. Frequently they go over or along the sides of steep precipices. It is not strange that the Ch'iang generally walk and always carry their loads on their backs. News is passed along by word of mouth, and naturally it is sometimes inaccurate.

The bridges resemble those of the Chinese and of their various neighbors in this region. A small creek may be waded, or crossed by stepping on large stones. Some bridges are merely logs or boards laid across the streams. One type of bridge is the false or corbelled arch. From both sides large timbers reach out one beyond the other, until they meet above the middle of the stream. A bridge often consists of a single bamboo cable. Two hollow wooden half-cylinders are tied securely around the cable. The person or baggage is tied to this, and when released slides half way across. Then the person pulls himself hand over hand the rest of the way, or the baggage is pulled to the opposite shore by means of a small rope. The larger rope bridges have nine or ten bamboo cables underfoot on which boards are laid, and four or more cables on each side. The longest bridges have several wooden trestles, the bridge sagging down between. As one walks over, the whole bridge shakes.

The rivers are too rapid for boats, which between Mou Chow and Yin Shiu Wan 映秀湾 and between Wei Chow and Tsagulow are not even used as ferries.

2. Money, Marketing, Bartering, and Borrowing.

Chinese money is the currency of the Ch'iang. Until the latter part of the Manchu dynasty it was silver ingots or lump silver, then it was silver dollars. Now it is Chinese bank bills.

There is some buying and selling in the small villages. This is

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Ch'iang

4. Occupations.

463 [423] [462] All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses, and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted